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விவேகானந்த புத்தகசாலை
ஹிந்து மதாபிமான சங்கம்
காரைக்குடி.

22nd. MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

AT MADURA

On

15, 16 & 17th May 1916.

WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

The Raja of Ramnad

Chairman, Reception Committe.

MARUTHAM
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Presented by S. Murugappa

23-10-52.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

1. The City of Madura, often-times described as the Athens of the East, situated on the banks of the celebrated river Vaigai, has been one of the most flourishing cities of Southern India, with a civilisation and culture as ancient as it is great, having been the capital city of the great Pandyan Kingdom, which lay between the two great kingdoms of the Cheras and Cholas. This city has survived many an invasion from different rulers and has maintained its reputation as the City of Arts and learning, despite the stress and storm that swept over it. To this very day, it maintains a high level of excellence in education, in industry, in art, in trade, in agriculture and in similar occupations characteristic of great urban activity. The word is spelt "Madurai" in Tamil. Yule and Burnell say that it is generally supposed to be the Tamil form of the name of Madura (the modern Muttra), the very ancient and holy city on the Jumna, 30 miles above Agra. They believed that the name Madura seems to have been a favourite amongst eastern settlements under Hindu influence—there being places so called in Ceylon, in Burmah, to the north of Mandálay, and an island of the name near Java—and suggest that it was perhaps adopted from reverence for the holy city of the north.

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2. Another etymology is from the Tamil *Maduram* meaning "anything sweet," the story being that Siva was so pleased with the buildings erected round about his shrine by the first Pandyan King that as a mark of special favour He sprinkled the temples, towers, palaces and houses of the town with drops of sweet nectar shaken from the crescent moon worn in his locks. In the matter of population it stands the second city in the Presidency of Madras, and I believe it will not be uninteresting to this audience, should I endeavour to describe briefly the history of the Pandyans and other rulers who held sway over the Pandyan Kingdom and make a reference to the three great Tamil Sangam (academies) which flourished and shed lustre on these lands with such pomp and splendour that a mere recollection of them, as we read from classical books, makes one feel a legitimate pride in one's great ancestors who had played such a prominent part in moulding the destinies of men socially, morally, and politically, and who had built many such interesting cities like Madura which are acknowledged to be of unique importance.

3. Tradition, archæological inscriptions and ancient literature all agree in beginning the history of South India with the story of the three dynasties of the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas who are believed to have been three brothers. The Cholas ruled in the country which now forms the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts, the Cheras in Travancore, Malabar and Coimbatore and the Pandyas in Madura and Tinnevelly. The Pandyan Kingdom can boast of a respectable antiquity, as references made by many classical writers of Greece and Rome, would show. Magasthenese who was sent by Selucus Nicator, one of Alexander

the Great's successors, as ambasador to the court of Chandraguptan, King of Pataliputra near Patna about 302 B. C., speaks of this Pandyan country. Pliny (A. D. 77) mentions Pandæ, King Pandyan and the latter's Mediterranean Emporium at Madura. Dr. Caldwell thinks that it is they, the Pandyans, who sent an Indian embassy to the Roman Emperor, Agustus, mentioned by Strabo(A. D. 20). Ptolemy (A. D. 140) mentions this kingdom. References are made in early Tamil literature to the Pandyan dynasty and country, in poems like Purananooru, Pathuppattu, Silappadikaram and Manimekala, wherein are revealed the state of art, agriculture, commerce, society and politics that existed at that time. Mr. Kanagasabai Pillai deduces from these works, probably of the second century, the following sequences of five Pandian Kings and assigns dates noted against each:—1. Nedunchelian I, (A. D. 50 to 75), 2. Verriverchelian (A. D. 75 to 90) 3. Nedunchelian II, (90–128) 4. Ugraperuvaluthy (128–140) and 5. Nanmaran (140 to 150).

4. It is the first of these kings that is mentioned in Silappathikaram and it was at the time of the fourth king, Ugraperuvaluthi, the famous Tamil Poem Kural of Tiruvalluvar was published in the presence of 48 scholars. It is he who is believed to have taken the fortress at Kanapper, the present Kalayarkoil in the Ramnad District. His capital was at Madura known as "Nanmadakkudal," the cluster of four towers. It was also known as Northern Madura to distinguish it from a previous capital of the same name in the extreme south of the peninsula which had been submerged by the sea, like another place known as Kapadapuram which had shared the same fate. Korkai, another important town, which was known to the writer of

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the *Periplus maris erythræi* about A. D. 80 and to Ptolemy was another town associated with the Pandyan Kings, as the Pandyans are described in inscriptions as Korkkayali or lord of Korkkai. From inscriptions it is learnt that two kings of the great Pallava dynasty, who lived at Conjeevaram, by name Simhavishnu and his grandson Narasimhavarman II, had conquered the Pandyan kingdom. But their occupation was very short. In 615 the Pallavas are believed to have been driven back by the Chalukkyas, who boasted of having conquered the Cholas, crossed the Cauvery and invaded the kingdoms of the Pandyas and Cheras. This, however, could not be supported by any authenticated record. There has been a break of history for over a century till A. D. 750, when according to an inscription of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, a conflict happened with the Pallavas in which Udayachandra of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, gained a victory over the Pandyans at Mannaikkudy. The Pallavas' power declining, the Ganga Pallavas came into prominence and at the end of the ninth century extended their rule to the north of the Chola country, when Pandyans had powerful control over the Chola country. The Mahavamsa, the Ceylon Chronicle, mentions that the Pandyans invaded Ceylon in the time of King Sena I, who reigned from 846 to 866. It is believed by the end of the ninth century, the Pandyans were compelled to retire from the Chola country, when the Ganga Pallavas advanced and at the end of it the Cholas must have regained their possessions and exercised supreme control in South India after some interruptions for nearly three centuries. At the time of the Chola king Paranthaka (906 to 946), the Pandyans are believed to have fallen definitely under the Cholas' rule. From inscriptions found between Suchindram near Cape

Comorin, and Kalahasti in Chitoor, it is found that the Chola assumed the title of "Conqueror of Madura" and that he also invaded Ceylon. In 949, the Pandyans acquired some independence by the defeat of the Cholas near Arkonam by the Rastrakutas of Malkhed, who came in the place of the Chalukkyas of Badami, and a second defeat of the Chola king Audithyakarikala by the Pandyan ruler, Veerapandya. He is said to have acquired the title of "He who took the head of the Chola." But between 985 to 1013 the Chola king Rajaraja I seems to have brought the Pandyan country under complete control, as is borne out by an immense number of inscriptions and by a large number of copper coins of Rajaraja, as also by the change of the name of the Pandyan capital into the Chola term Cholendrasimha-Chathurvedamangalam, and of the Pandyan country itself to Rajaraja-Pandyanadu. The Chola Emperor, Rajaraja, had extended his rule throughout the Madras Presidency and beyond it, on the west up to Quilon and Coorg, and on the north-east to the borders of Orissa, his conquest including Ceylon and the 12,000 ancient islands of the sea. His successors added parts of Burma and Malay Archipelago to the kingdom. At this time the western Chalukkyas, a branch of the Badami Chalukkyas, drove out the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, and returned to power with Kalyani, in Hydrabad territory, as their capital. The Pandyas, who had borne quietly the Chola rule in the reign of Rajaraja I (985—1013) and Rajendra Chola I (1011—'33), attempted to throw off the Chola yoke with the assistance of the Cheras and Singhalese. The Singhalese king was killed in battle, the Chera was captured and put to death and the Pandyan was driven out.

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5. The next Chola king Rajendradeva (1052 to '63) had an uneventful reign and his successor, Veerarajendra I (1062 to '70) seems to have captured the Pandyan Chief and to have given the Pandyan country to his son, Gangaikanda Cholan. In the year 1077, the great Kulothunga, who reigned till 1119, established his rule in great splendour. Ceylon at this time seemed to have cut itself adrift. From an inscription of the 14th year of Kulothunga, it is gathered that he put five Pandyas to flight, subdued the gulf of Mannar, the Pothia mountain (Agasthya-Malai in Tinnevelly), Cape Comorin and Kottaru in Travancore. The rule of the Chola Pandyas continued till 1136, but the history of the Pandyas for the next 35 years is unknown. At the time of the Chola king Rajathi-Rajan II, about 1171–'72, there seem to have been disputes over the Pandyan throne between two individuals unconnected with the Chola Pandyan line, the two rival claimants being Parakrama Pandya and Kulasekara Pandya; and it appears in Chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese Chronicle Mahavamsa, that Kulasekara had put his rival to death, but Lankapura, General of the king of Ceylon, sent to help Kulasekara's rival, Parakrama, was ordered by his master to recover the Pandyan realms and hand them over to some relation of the murdered king. In obedience to the above mandate he took the Pandyan kingdom and entrusted it to Veera-Pandyan, the youngest son of the dead Parakrama and the Singhalese troops occupied the town of Madura for sometime. The dethroned got the Cholas' aid and in a battle near Pon-Amaravati, the Singhalese were again victorious and placed Veera Pandya on the throne finally. In another battle, Kulasekara, though assisted by the Cholas and the ruler of Tondamana, was again defeated at Palamcottah. A

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third time with the assistance of the Chola king, he sought the Pandyan kingdom with the same result. Kulothunga III, supported Vikkrama Pandya, Kulasekara's son, against Veerapandya and after capturing Madura gave it to his protege, Vikrama, with the title of "Conqueror of Madura," These events occurred in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth, the Cholas' power declined and it was in the reign of Rajaraj III 1216—'39 that the first blows were received, and this unfortunate Rajaraja was rescued by the intervention of the Hoysala Ballalas who recently subverted the western Chalukyas of Kalyani and settled at Halebid in Mysore as their capital. The following 15 rulers reigned over the kingdom of Madura from 1190 to 1567:—

1. Jatavarmankulasekaran 1190—1214.
2. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I 1216—'35.
3. Maravarman Sundra Pandya II 1238 to '51.
4. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I 1251—'61.
5. Veerapandya, 1252—'67.
6. Maravarman Kulasekara I, 1268—1308.
7. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II, 1275—'90.
8. Maravarman Kulasekara II, 1314—'21.
9. Maravarman Parakrama Pandya, 1334—'52.
10. Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya, 1357 to '72.
11. Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya Arikesari Deva, 1422—61.
12. Jatilavarman Parakrama Pandya Kulasekara, 1479—'99.

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13. Jatilavarman Srivallabah, 1434—'37.

14. Maravarman Sundara Pandya III, 1531 to '55.

15. Jatilavarman Srivakabah Ativirarama, 1562—67.

6. The third king of the list, Maravarman Sundara Pandyan II, is believed to have invaded Ceylon and to have extended his conquest as far as Nellore. The 6th and 7th Pandyans in the list are known to history, as Kales-Dewar of the Mahommadan historians and Sendar Bandi of Marco-Polo. As Mahavamsa says an expedition against Ceylon was sent by 5 brothers, it is believed that the Pandyan kingdom must have been held jointly by all the members of the family. Marco Polo also expresses the same opinion. Marco Polo and the Mahommadan, Chinese and Singhalese Chronicles and other authorities on the Pandyan realms all agree in extolling the wealth and magnificence of the Pandyan kingdom at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. It had extended from Quilon to Nellore, being called, according to Marco Polo, the greatest India and as being finest and noblest province in the whole world. Its rulers sent an embassy, which is described in the Chinese annals, to Kublai Khan, and employed Mohommadan Ministers. Marco Polo described with admiration this city of Madura as one of great commercial importance, and the old town of Kayal (Kayal Patnam) on the Thambaraparani, which had been a centre of large sea-borne trade which made the Pandyan king widely known. A contemporary Persian historian Wassaf states that all the products of India and China were constantly arriving there and that all the splendour of the west was derived from the Pandya realm which is so situated as to be the "Key of Hind."

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7. In the 14th century Mallik Kafur, the famous General of Alla-ud-deen invaded South India and introduced momentous changes in 1310, sweeping away the power of the rulers of the Deccan and the Carnatic. He sacked Madura and marched to Rameswaram where, it is believed, he founded a mosque. After this the Pandyans never seem to have had independent power though they ruled in spasmodic fashion for the next 2½ centuries. The Cheras, who defeated the Pandyans and got crowned at Madura, were shortly overthrown by a Mussalman dynasty which ruled for 48 years, 8 kings ruling during that period. In 1365 the Vijayanagar Kingdom which was founded at Humpi in the Bellary District overthrew the Mahammadans in 1365. Kampanna Udayar a prince of that line established a dynasty of his own at Madura subordinate to the court of Vijayanagar. During the Mussalman occupation and throughout the rule of Kampanna Udayar and his successors and throughout the later Naick dynasty and down to the overthrow of the Vijayanagar kingdom the Pandyan kings always remained in authority at Madura. Kampanna Udayar's dynasty lasted till 1404 and afterwards the country passed to the kings of Vijayanagar. Date is given in one of the inscriptions referring to king Thevaraya II 1438—39, King Krishna Raya 1509—30. In 1532, the king of Travancore had overrun the Pandyan country and fought the authority of Vijayanagar. The king of Vijayanagar organised a great expedition from 1530—42, got victory over Travancore and planted a pillar in the Thambaraparani river to mark the event. Between 1547 and 1558 the Madura country was ruled by Vittala Rajah of the Vijayanagar line who invaded Travancore for the 2nd time in 1543. During Vittal Rajah's reign

the Cholas defeated the Pandyan king and the Pandyan appealed to Vijayanagar and an expedition was sent under Nagama Naick. Nagama suppressed the Chola King, but threw off his allegiance and declined to help the Pandyan, assuming the position of an independent ruler. His son Visvanatha who was sent to take the rebel to the Vijayanagaram Court obeyed the orders of the King but ruled the country himself, in 1559, as Governor from the Vijayanagar Court, and gradually developed his governorship into one of hereditary monarchy. Viswanatha became the first of the Naick dynasty. The Naick dynasty ruled from 1559–1736, commencing from Viswanatha and ending with Meenakshi, Queen-Regent.

1. Viswanatha 1569.
2. Kumara Krishnappa 1563.
3. Krishnappa *alias* Periaveerappa 1573.
4. Viswanathan II.
5. Lingayya *alias* Kumarakrishnappa Viswappa *alias* Viswanatha III, 1595.
6. Muthukrishnappa, 1602.
7. Muthuveerappa 1609.
8. Tirumala, 1623.
9. Muthualagathri, *alias* Muthuveerappa 1659.
10. Chockanatha *alias* Chockalinga, 1662.
11. Rengakrishna Muthuveerappa, 1682.
12. Mangammal (Queen-Regent), 1689.

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13. Vijiaronga Chockanatha, 1704.

14. Meenakshi (Queen-Regent), 1731—'36.

8. It was during his time that the 72 Poligars were brought into existence. The Peranai and Chittanai dams were erected during this reign. He had Aryanatha of Vellala parents as prime-minister. He built the thousand pillared Mantapam at Madura, where a statue is still found, and lived till 1600. Viswanatha's son, Kumarakrishnappa (1563—'73) is believed to have conquered Ceylon. In 1565, the Vijayanagaram rule and the suzerainty of the Naicks were irreparably shattered by the Mussalmans of Deccan in the famous battle of Tallikotta. Then followed the famous rule of Tirumalai Naick's 1623—'59. He withheld sending tribute to Vijianagar and in 1638 King Renga advanced upon Ginji but Tirumala opposed him in company with the Mahammadan Sultan of Golconda, one of the confederacy who had been victorious at Tallikotta and thus frustrated Renga's advance. When the Mahammadans advanced to the south, Tirumala meekly submitted and promised an annual contribution to the Sultan of Bijapur and after an interval of 300 years, the Mahammadan supremacy was again established.

9. Tirumala invaded Mysore then under Mussalman rule. In another war with Mysore, Tirumala had great success. The Mysore king, in turn, invaded Coimbatore and threatened Madura itself; but was driven in disorder owing to the large assistance rendered by the Sethupathies of Ramnad. Tirumala died between the age of 65 and 70 after 36 years of eventful reign. His territories at his death comprised the present districts of Madura, Tinnevelly, Ramnad, Coimbatore, Salem, Trichinopoly, and the

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Native States of Pudukotta and Travancore. Tirumala's brother who returned after the victory of Mysore was given the governorship of Sivakasi in the Ramnad District. Tirumala's son, Muthualagadri had an uneventful reign and a dishonoured grave. His son Chockanathan succeeded at the age of 16. The Mahammadans advanced on Madura and Trichinopoly and were bought off by Chockanatha with a large sum.

10. In 1674 the Sultan of Bijapur sent an army under a Maharatta general named Venkaji to turn out the Madura usurper at Tanjore and restore the Naick line, but he appropriated the kingdom to himself and the Maharattas sat for the first time on the throne of Tanjore in the place of the Naick; between 1672-1704 the Mysore King attacked Coimbatore and Chockanatha being found incompetent to face the situation was deposed in favour of his brother. Chockanatha was replaced in 1678 by a Mahammadan adventurer who was slain by Chockanatha himself. In 1682 Madura was besciged by Mysore; but the Maharattas at Ginji defeated the Mysore troops. Chockanatha died in 1682. In 1688—87 the Moghul Emperor Aurengazebe conquered the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur and entered into a war with the Mahrattas. The Madura Naick recovered his capital about 1685 and 1686 and he died in 1689, leaving a widow who being enciente was persuaded by her husband's mother Mangammal, to wait till her child was born, and to commit *sati* then. She having given birth to a son Vijiarenga Chockanatha, Mangammal acted as queen-regent for 15 years on behalf of this posthumous son. She is considered to be the maker of roads, avenues, and temples, choultries, etc., Mangammal subdued Travancore. In 1700 a war ensued between Madura and North

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west Tanjore and the Mahrattas were crushingly defeated. In 1702 Madura and Tanjore united to reduce Ramnad quite unsuccessfully, the ablest general of Madura being killed in the battle. In 1704—05, Mangammal's grandson came of age and on her refusal to make way for him, she was seized by a strong party and starved to death in the building called the Mangammal's palace, where the Ramnad Collector's Office is at present located. Her grandson Vijayarenga Chockanatha (1704-'31) reigned for 26 years and at this time the Ramnad Kingdom was divided into two separate divisions as Ramnad and Sivaganga under two independent Marava powers. He died in 1731, his widow Meenakshi succeeding and acting as queen-regent to a young boy whom she had adopted. Vangaru Tirumalai. father of the adopted heir, claimed the throne and at this juncture the Moghuls came in. Since 1693 Madura had been nominally feudatory to the Delhi empire and since 1698 the Carnatic north of the Coleroon had been under their rule, their local representative being the Nawab of Arcot, an intermediate authority being the Nizam of Hydrabad, subordinate to the emperor and superior to the Nawab. Owing to a dispute between Meenakshi and Vangaru Tirumalai in 1734 the Nawab of Arcot sent an expedition under his son Safder Ali Khan and his adviser and nephew Chanda Sahib. They invaded Tanjore, leaving Trichinopoly unattempted, swept across Madura and Travancore carrying all before them. Vangaru Tirumala was sent to rule the country round Madura and Tinnevelly, the queen remaining at Trichinopoly. In 1738 Chanda Sahib returned and made himself master of the Kingdom. Chanda Sahib was suspected by the Nawab of Arcot, but all the same, he appointed his two brothers as governors of

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Dindigal and Madura, and subjugated the King of Tanjore compelling him to cede Karaikkal to the French. The King of Tanjore and Vangaru Tirumala sought the assistance of the Mahrattas of Satara in Bombay who in 1740 came, defeated and killed the Nawab of Arcot at the pass of Damalcheruvu in North Arcot, but retired after some understanding with his son Safdar Ali recognising him as Nawab. Chanda Sahib offered submission to Safdar Ali. The Mahrattas again appeared at Trichinopoly, probably at the instance of Safdar Ali, killed Chanda Sahib's two brothers, took Chanda Sahib as captive to Satara and disregarding the claims of Vangaru Tirumala appointed Murari Row of Gooty as Governor of the conquered kingdom. When Murari Rao retired after 2 or 3 years in 1743, the Nizam's army marched southward and re-established his authority in 1744, appointing Anwar-ud-deen as Nawab of Arcot. The Madura country was governed by his sons Mafuz Khan and Mahammad Ali. In 1748 Chanda Sahib regained his liberty with a pretender to the position of the Nizam of Hydrabad, and slew Anwar-ud-deen but Mahammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself Nawab there. The French and the English at this time took sides with Chanda Sahib and Mahammad Ali respectively. The English gained a more prominent share in the administration of Madura and Tinnevelly and in 1751 Chanda Sahib was recognised as Nawab of Arcot, Mahammed Ali giving up his claims to Madura and Tinnevelly. In 1751, the first siege of Madura occured; Mahammed Ali in 1755 sent an army composed of 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys furnished by the English East India Company under the command of Colonel Heron. and of 1,000 horse led by Mafuz Khan brother of Mahammad Ali, to reduce these

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two districts to obedience. The 2000 sepoys were in charge of Mahammad Yusuf Khan, a distinguished native officer of the Company. This force took Madura and Colonel Heron, left Mafuz Khan there, obtaining from him the lease of Madura and Tinnevelly at an annual rental of Rs. 15,000,00. In 1756, the Company found Mafuz Khan's administrrtion a failure. They sent Mahammad Yusuf with 1,400 men to combine with the troops of Mafuz Khan and the Nawab and take command of the whole. In 1756 the two leaders of the Company separated, Mahammad Yusuf going to Tinnevelly town and Mafuz Khan to Madura. An open revolt being raised by Mahammad Barkhi with 2,000 kallars, both Mafuz Khan and Mahammad Yusuf marched at once on Madura on the 10th August and sent orders to Captain Calliaud to come to their aid. In 1757 Captain Calliaud got Madura by paying the rebels 1,70,000. At this time Hyder Ali invaded Madura, but was beaten off. The Company induced the Nawab to recall Mafuz Khan and they withdrew Mahammad Yusuf. The Company sent back Mahammad Yusuf renting both Madura and Tinnevelly to him for 5 lakhs of Rupees. They returned in 1759. M. Yusuf waged war with the king of Travancore between 1761 and 1762 and offered to lease Madura and Tinnevelly for four years more at 7 lakhs per annum, but the Company declined. He threw off his allegiance and began to collect troops. In 1763, a strong force besieged Madura in September but he held it until October 1764. He was treacherously seized by Marchaud of the French contingent and was handed over to Major Charles Campbell who hanged him near the camp to the west of Madura still known as Khan Sahib's Pallivasal in the Dindigul Road at Madura. After Yusuf's death, the administration of the country

was left to Abi-ral-khan Sahib for six years. The country was commanded by British Officers. In 1780 Hyder Ali perpetrated his famous invasion into the Carnatic. In the next year, Nawab Mahammad Ali assigned to the Company the revenues of the Carnatic to meet the cost of the war with Hyder Ali and a committee of six officials was appointed to administer them. The first Collector who came to Madura was Mr. George Proctor and he was followed in 1782 by Eyles Irwin. Coll. Fullerton was also sent as the country needed quieting. The assignment of the revenue was surrendered to the Nawab of Arcot and the Committee was dissolved. But in 1790 the Madras Government finding it impossible to induce the Nawab to share the expenses of his alliance or to re-introduce the assignment of the revenues, took possession of the country by proclamation. The Board of Revenue was established in 1786 and Mr. Mc. Leod was sent in 1790 as Collector of Dindigal. In July 1792 the Nawab and the Company entered into a treaty by which the Company undertook the collection of peishcush or tribute from the Poligars with the exception of Madura and Tinnevelly and the rest of the country was to be restored to the Nawab with certain conditions. In 1792, Dindigul came into the possession of the Company, the rest of Madura going finally in 1801; in 1799 when the third Mysore war ended with the fall of Sirengapatam and Tippu Sultan's death papers were found to shew that the Nawab of Arcot and his father Mahammad Ali had engaged in treasonable correspondence with Tippu Sultan. But, however, the Nawab having died in the course of the enquiry and his heir declining to give security, the Nawabship was conferred on a junior member of the family with whom in 1801 an agreement was concluded by which the sole administration of Civil and Military Governments of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic was handed over to the Company in perpetuity. Madura thus passed with the rest of the Carnatic under the British Rule tasting for the first time the blessings of settled peace.

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11. Having thus far dealt with the history of the city and the fortunes of the various dynasties that held sway over it I shall now proceed to offer some observations on a few of the important subjects that demand our immediate attention. In a city of the greatest Tamil acadamies ever known, it is but fitting and proper that the study of vernaculars should claim my first and foremost attention. It is a matter of utmost regret that our ancient vernaculars should have been neglected both by the Government and by the people, and that they should not have been made compulsory in the curricula of University education. Those who are acquainted with the greatness of the vernaculars, and the vast treasure of knowledge burried in them, will easily declare that the policy of Government has not been quite sound. Far as the human eye could see and the imagination penetrate, the vernaculars such as Tamil, Telugu etc., should continue to be the language of the people in spite of the vast advance of English education. The neglect of these languages is certainly not easily reconcilable and I earnestly hope the Government will before long see their way to redress this grievance of ours which is certainly as reasonable as it is just The question of having vernaculars as the medium of instruction is another matter which needs your serious consideration. Of course, it is agreed on every side that nothing should be done in schools and colleges which would affect the stability of

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English education, but I think–and I am glad to find that Lord Hardinge also expressed the same opinion–that in elementary classes vernaculars should be and continue to be the medium of instruction. It is a very serious matter and needs your responsible pronouncement. The three great Sangams referred to above have all been great academies, and the following accounts are given of them in our ancient Tamil books:—

The Sangam.

The first of these three Sangams is believed to have flourished at South Madura near Cape Comorin. Nearly 549 scholars had adorned it. It is learnt from ancient classical books that over 4,449 scholars had lived at that period, and it is also believed that 32 successive Pandyans patronised this academy. This Sangam, it is stated, began with a Pandya by name Kaisinavaluthi, and ended with the Pandya Kodungone.

The second Sangam flourished at Kapadapuram. It began with Ventherchelivan and ended with Modathirumaran. Mention is made of this town in the great epic poem Ramayana, and therefore it is believed that this Sangam must have existed either before or at the time of the divine King Rama, or at least the author of the Ramayana, Valmiki. 59 scholars had constituted themselves as Members, and over 3,700 scholars had lived at that time.

The last of them, the third Tamil Sangam, had its existence at Madura in the north-west

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corner of the famous Meenakshi temple, and in this institution 49 scholars presided. This Sangam began with Modathirumaran and ended with Ugraperuvaluthi, known as Ugrapandyan, who is believed to be the son of Goddess Meenakshi. We have also on sufficient authority that at Madura had existed great Sanskrit colleges, colleges for music, arts, as also other numerous institutions. Mention is made of the existence of shrines for Buddha, Jain, and Balarama, and for the Goddess of Learning Chinta-Devi (Sarasvathi).

Objects of Local interest.

12. It is to this ancient and historic city I now have the privilege of welcoming you as delegates of the 22nd Madras Provincial Conference The local objects of interest are the famous Meenakshi temple, the temple of Kudal Alagar–an ancient Vishnu temple–the beautiful Teppakulam to the east of Madura town, where a grand floating festival is held every year, the famous Tirumal Naick's Palace where the judicial courts are located–a building acknowledged to be one of the finest in Southern India–the famous Alagar temple situated at a distance of 12 miles to the north-west of Madura, whence the God Alagar is annually brought during the famous Chitra festival to the river Vaigai and taken back, when thousands of people assemble and the annual cattle fair is held, the interesting rock at Tirupparankundram with an ancient temple which lies at a distance of 4

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miles to the south of Madura, and the Anamalai rock, a very important one from Archæological stand-point, bearing many inscriptions of great interest, the Madura College and the American Mission College, the two flourishing Educational institutions of this place, and the Madura Cotton Mills, the chief industrial enterprise. These are the chief objects of interest, and they are well worth a visit. We cordially invite you to pay a visit to such of those as you may find leisure to do. The sacred and ancient temple of Rameswaram and the adjoining bath at Dhanushkoti are well within your reach, and by the South Indian Railway, it takes only 5 hours to accomplish the journey to these places from Madura. As a humble representative of the ancient family of Sethupathies, I should be failing in my duty should I not request those who have leisure and time to undertake a trip to these places and thus accomplish a sacred duty which every Hindu from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, takes such a pride in performing.

The War.

13. Gentlemen, the colossal war which has been going on for the last one year and nine months, has shaken the very foundations of the nations of the World, and it is no matter of surprise that every branch of life has suffered in consequence. There has been considerable loss in trade, foreign goods being completely cut out There has been vast decrease in enter-

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prising schemes like Railways, roads, hospitals, colleges and like institutions. Added to this, there has been an increase of taxation, and one particularly on salt, has made the poorest of of tenants and villagers realise the hardship of the monstrous fight.

Coming to the War itself, it is most unfortunate that circumstances should have compelled Great Britain to unsheath her sword, and as the Right Hon'ble Mr. Asquith, said, it ought not to be sent back to its place "till the German militarism is completely put down" and till Germany ceases to exist as an independent Empire. Great Britain undertook this war not for any aggrandizement, nor for any other personal gratification, but only in the vindication of a righteous cause to safeguard and protect the independence of smaller nations and rulers. That Great Britain with her allies will eventually have a triumphant victory is a foregone conclusion; all the same, the long duration of the achievement of that final success entails innumerable loss of life and millions of money. Whatever may the strength of our army, there is the saying of the famous poet Shakespeare that "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just". Our enemies have proved to have no regard for humanity, culture, or international laws and obligations. I cannot more graphically illustrate their inhuman conduct and vandalism than by mentioning the murder of Edith

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Cavell, the destruction of the famous Cathedral at Rheims, and the sinking of many a hospital ship and passenger-boat with a large innocent crew in them. When the great 'Titanic' boat got sunk by coming in contact with an iceburg in the Atlantic, and when as a result of it, over, 1,500 people died, it was thought that it foreboded some great calamity to the world; and we see now this stupendous war coming almost immediately after the great calamity The tragic death of Mr. W. T. Stead that warm advocate of peace and the organizer of the famous Hague Conference would seem to have told the death knell of peace and foreshadowed the letting loose of "the dogs of war". We now see nation to nation at arms, and there seems to be no possibility of this great war coming to an end in the near future. But whenever that might happen, as Shakespeare says,

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Life at the proud foot of a conqueror,
> But when it first did help to wound itself.
> Now these her Princes are come home again,
> Come the three corners of the world in arms
> And we shall shock them; naught shall make us
> If England to itself do rest but true." [rue

It makes me sad, and I dare say every one else will be equally sad to think, that, whenever we see in the list of casualties and especially in the pictures of the illustrated papers of England, where a separate sheet is devoted as the "Roll

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of Honour," many brilliant young men, sons of Dukes and of great families, have succumbed to this great war. No doubt they have sacrificed their lives and shed their blood in a sacred cause safeguarding the prestige of the nation, fully realising the righteousness of the cause for which the war is waged. I have oftentimes shed tears when perusing those illustrated papers. But what makes me most happy at the present moment, in the midst of such a great sorrow, is that owing to the extreme kindness and states, manlike foresight of Lord Hardinge, we were able to send from India an Indian army to fight side by side with the English people, for the first time in the history of the world, and that Indians have gallantly fought out in the battles and have upheld the traditions handed down to us by our great ancestors. Our ancestors it cannot be gain said, have all been great warriors, and if such martial instincts are not quite visible in us, it is because of want of training and of suitable opportunities for showing them. Should we be only permitted to volunteer and get trained as a regular Indian army, I don't think we need despair at any time that that army will be second to any in chivalry or valour. The following stanzas may well echo an Indian sentiment:—

God give me but the grace to stand
Patient and strong, with sword in hands,
To do my share for this dear land
Perchance to die.

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"No earthly gifts I crave, Dear Lord,
But that I may still bear this sword
Until the day when Peace restored,
I lay it by."

"It matters not how long we live
How soon the sand runs in the glass;
It only matters what we give
Of service, ere we pass."

I think, gentlemen, besides having an Indian volunteer force, we should also have our own navy to guard our shores from the enemy's attacks. I will not say much on this subject except that it will indeed be a proud day when India has its own squadron and I am reminded of a poem which describes the condition of a country as it would be when it has its own navy,

"Then the progeny that springs
From the forests of our land
Armed with thunder, clad with wings
Shall a wide world command"

In this connection, I may also refer to the most excellent and humane work carried on by the Madras War Fund under the guidance of our distinguished Governor Lord Pentland, chiefly the Hospital Ship which has afforded relief to many hundreds of sick and wounded, and the Ladies' Depot under the care of Lady Pentland. I am rather afraid there has not been much response to the call from the Madura and the surrounding districts, and I hope the

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people in these districts will realise the importance of the work and come in large numbers with liberal donations and help for the further working of the Hospital Ship and thus save the slur of having been backward in an undertaking which has received the approbation of all great and good men.

Our Ex-Viceroy.

14. Gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary for me to detail at length the various reforms in administration introduced by our late Viceroy Lord Hardinge. Suffice it to say that we loved him more than any of his predecessors, probably with the exception of Lord Ripon; and it is no flattery when I say that I consider Lord Hardinge to be an incarnation of some great force specially sent to the World to come to our redress when India was passing through a great crisis. No one had suffered more than he did, both in mind and in body. You may remember his miraculous escape from a bomb thrown by some unknown individual who, I very much regret indeed to think, must be still lurking somewhere in our law-abiding country as a noxious weed amidst a lotus pond. He had to lose his dear wife Lady Hardinge who was an embodiment of womanhood and who took great interest in every movement that was started in the welfare of the Indian ladies. He lost his son in this great War, and more than all these, most uncharitably did he come in for cynical remarks from some Anglo-Indian dailies in

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India. It is very regrettable indeed that even his action should be questioned, and I do not wish to say much on this point to avoid controversy; but I would only say that we hold him in veneration only next to God and King, and that we will never be prejudiced by any malicious statements that may be made against him. We owe to him many reforms, nay, the very arrival of His Majesty the King-Emperor to India after his Coronation and the magnificent Durbar we had at Delhi. It is to him that we owe the final settlement of the Emigration question, the privilege of sending representatives to the Imperial Conference, the solution of the indentured labour system and the annulment of the partition of Bengal. It is to him that we owe the annual recurring grant of Fifty Lakhs of Rupees for education, the Hindu University and many other similar great reforms.

It has been recognised on all hands that education ought to be a prime stimulus to Indians to build up India as a nation and make it command the esteem from the other nations of the world. This policy has been fully realised by Lord Hardinge, and as he said in one of the addresses at Bombay before his departure, it is indeed a purely happy circumstance that the educational portfolio of the Indian Government should be in the hands of a distinguished country man of ours, the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, than whom for the present a more competent

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and better person it is not easily possible to secure. We only pray that the Almighty God may grant a long lease of life to Lord Hardinge, and thus enable him to continue to take a lively interest in matters which concern Indians, whose welfare he has so much at heart. It is an equally happy circumstance that in his successor, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, to whom we should send forth our hearty welcome on his assumption of the exalted office of Viceroy and Governor-General of India, we should have a well-experienced and liberal statesman who had served before as Governor, and who had taken the keenest interest in educational matters. We may safely hope under these two distinguished statesmen—our present Viceroy and his colleague Sir Sankaran Nair—the education of Indians will be given due consideration, and before long vast advancement will be made by the Indians, and let us hope that when the next census is taken, a larger percentage of Indians will be found to be literate than in the previous list.

The Public Service Commission.

15. It should have been a matter of great gratification to all of us if the report of the Commission on the Public Service, had been issued and their results made known to us. The fact that it has been decided to keep it secret till the War is over, itself leads one to think that the results will not be quite favourable to us; however, we piously hope that if it should

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be unfavourable, the Government will give us an occasion to represent our views on that report before final orders are passed thereon. It was our misfortune that one of the Members of the Commission, the late Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, one of the greatest sons of India who had striven so much in the cause of our country and in the uplift of Indians, should have died before the report was drawn up. We have, however, another great Indian to take his place in the person of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, and circumstances would certainly have been—though not materially different-yet somewhat favourable if the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale had only lived. In this year, gentlemen, the death roll has been somewhat very heavy; and we cannot pass without a sigh and grief over the lamented deaths of Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pheroze-Shah Mehta and Mr. G. Subrahmania Iyer, the four great men who had dedicated their valuable lives to the service of this country. It is not always that we find men like Sir P. M. Mehta with magnificent personality and command over his fellow-men in such a remarkable degree that his words were taken as Gospel. I do not think India could give birth to another man before long endowed with such sincerity of purpose and great qualities as were found in the person of Mr Gokhale, a worthy disciple of that great patriot Mr. Justice Mahadev Ranade, whose teachings Mr Gokhale so wisely adopted and so nobly practised

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Political Workers.

We should also deeply consider about organising a band of political workers like the Members of the Servants of India Society to go from place to place and infuse knowledge into villagers on matters of sanitation, education, politics and other like subjects, and thus befit them for the greatness of future India which we all see will come before long. I must also condemn the policy of public men taking up appointments under Government and thus leaving the political work in the hands of inexperienced and untried men. It is admitted that the lawyers are the most advanced amongst the educated classes, and if they will not retire till they breathe their last, I ask them when are they to devote their services to the cause of the country which had given them birth. Is not the Hon'ble Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar's taking up the Advocate-Generalship a loss to the non-official workers in the field of politics? We do want Indians to occupy high places in the Government service, but those who had studied public questions and politics and those who had laboured in that field, at any rate, ought to be somewhat self-sacrificing, and they ought to consider the call of duty which they owe to their country as more important and paramount than other tempting considerations. If we should only have a band of selfless workers in large numbers, we may hope to achieve greater success in life and the country will expand in every direction and take its place as a nation

with a recognised civilisation and advancement, surely to be envied by other countries.

Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

16. Gentlemen, it has been decided both in the Viceroy's Government and elsewhere that we should put off the discussion of controversial subjects till after the War, and therefore, I do not enter into them in greater detail; however, I wish to make briefly some observations on certain aspects of the existing administration which need a speedy reform and amendment. A good deal has been said about the disadvantage resulting from the combination of judicial and executive functions, and I may be permitted to narrate only one instance which recently occurred, and which by itself, I believe is sufficiently illustrative of the disadvantage resulting from such combination. A First Class Magistrate was asked to dispose of, in his capacity as a Revenue Officer, a petition under Section 3 Clause 5 of the Estates Land Act I of 1908, to declare a certain person as land-holder. When the matter was posted for enquiry, he received from the same party another petition under Section 145 Criminal Procedure Code, and without notice to the other side he attached the village; and on the hearing date he disposed of the petition under Section 3 (5) of Act I of 08 in favour of the petitioner simultaneously dropping action under Section 145 C. P. C. Even though these are not purely judicial and executive functions, they are revenue and magisterial

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functions. You may easily imagine how people would have confidence and trust in such officers in whose hands the entire fortunes of thousands of subjects are committed. In Sec. 3 (5) of Act I of 08, the Court is required to go only into question of who is entitled to possession, ignoring who is in actual possession, while in Sec. 145 C. P. C., the Court is required to consider who is in actual possession ignoring who is entitled to possession. How long, gentlemen, is such a state of anamoly to continue? There are numerous such irregularities and disadvantages which need speedy reform. Of late there has been great interference from appellate authorities even in judicial matters. For instance, the Collector's interference with a Divisional Officer under him has become considerable; and for various reasons I do not wish to give illustration in support of my statement. Of course, executive officers should have some powers should they enforce law and discipline on the people, and they should not be left with the only option of getting offenders punished by resorting to judicial officers. It is a matter for you, gentlemen, to ponder over and decide as to how the solution should be arrived at.

The Madras Estates Land Act I of 1908.

17. The working of the Estates Land Act I of 1908 has considerably multiplied litigation, and the number of suits now filed has gone up by leaps and bounds. There are many sections in the Act which requrie to be completely

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deleted, and others which require to be largely modified. As one of the big landholders in this Presidency, I experience difficulties in so many ways that many a time have I thought that an ordinary intermediate land-holder in a ryot-wari tract ought to be a more contented man than one in my position as the holder of a permanently settled Estate.

The Religious Endowments Act.

The Religious Endowments Act is another most imperfect Act both in its scope and in its operation, and the people have been crying for a long time indeed to have it completely modified. I have experienced as Member of some of the Committees great difficulties in endeavouring to introduce reforms, and I cannot within the short time allowed to me give you many illustrations which would show the havoc played by the trustees appointed under the Act on temple funds, and also how the temple administration has been carried on with utter disregard and contempt, and how the houses of the trustees are lit up with electric and gas lights from the temple funds when those temples themselves are left in utter darkness with no lights—not even an oil lamp—bats alone inhabiting them day and night. This Act needs several amendments and the most important of them must be the doing away of the life trustees and Committee Members. Under the existing Act a Committee Member can absent himself without attending any

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meeting and without doing any work relating to the Devastanams and trusts from the time of his nomination till his very death; and yet the Act provides no penalty for it. The election of Committee Members has not been on the whole very desirable, and in my belief, it would be better in the interests of the Devastanams and in their efficient management if the electorate is considerably narrowed and confined only to the Members of the District and Taluq Boards and Municipalities or to the educated community.

The Arms Act.

Another small act which requires some modification and which has been much agitated for a long time is, I believe, the Arms Act. I am somewhat conservative in my views regarding the application of this Act. I am of opinion that all invidious distinctions which are galling to the self-respect of Indians should be abolished and the officers entrusted with the power of issuing licenses should be more liberal; but I think the act should never be abolished thus endangering the safety of the public.

The Local Boards Act.

Besides these, the Local Boards Act requires a little of alteration, should the Local Boards be made really a Local Self-Government. The official predominence has been, in my experience, very great, and steps must be taken to minimise it as much as possible. It ought to be also admitted that it would be indeed very difficult to secure suitable men to be in charge

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of those departments with ample leisure and means at their disposal. But it is a happy sign of the times that more non-official Presidents are being appointed for Taluq Boards in various districts and they have been found to work satisfactorily. Such system should be extended to other places and the official members should be distinctly made to extend to such non-official Presidents the same courtesy which they would if the President should be an official.

The Village Panchayat.

The Village Panchayat system, which, it is very unfortunate to observe, is not in existence to an appreciable degree, should be immediately revived, and unless this is done, the volume of litigation must be daily increasing and there will be no contentment among the people and they will be never prosperous. Every one of you is aware how litigations are protracted, what enormous delays are caused in getting a single question fought out and settled, and how even that one question which is settled, gets upset by another conflicting decision in another Bench of the High Court or some other courts, and how lakhs and lakhs of rupees are spent on litigation, and how inspite of the increase of courts and Judges, the arrear list of suits show greater number daily than before. The Village Panchayat, if revived and properly constituted with really efficient and honestly willing men to serve on them, with some summary powers and jurisdiction, would

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diminish, I am almost certain, the volume of litigation, and the people will have the satisfaction of having fought out cases, won or lost, before several thousands of rupees are spent. considerable energy is lost, and many days are wasted.

Industrial pursuits.

Gentlemen, I think before long we should interest ourselves in industrial pursuits and we must shun the idea of our children becoming only either lawyers or clerks under the Government, immediately they come out of their colleges. I think Madras is considerably backward in industrial enterprise and it is indeed much to be regretted that, when we of Madras freely go and see big cities like Bombay, Calcutta and other places, where people simply roll in wealth, we should remain indifferent without copying and adopting methods which have made our northern brethern prosperous. In spite of several endeavours made, we have been unable to raise the capital required for laying out the railway lines between Ramnad and Trichinopoly via Pudukkottah, and between Ramnad and Tenkasi via Virudupatti. The Nattukottai Chetties who have amassed vast wealth, have not realised as yet the importance of investing money in such profitable enterprises which would reflect credit upon the community to which they belong. After all, the capital required for these two lines is considerably small, should only a few Nattukottai Chetty gentlemen realise the importance of it and make up

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their minds to invest their money. You must have heard of the magnificent donation of my friend Rao Bahadur Annamalai Chettiar to the Madura College, who has made a new departure from the established custom of his community which customarily spends money only in renovating old and ruined temples and in maintaining Patasalas and cow-sheds. Now that there are many cultured men among the Nattukottai Chetty families like Dewan Bahadur S. Rm. Ramaswami Chettiar and his brother Rao Bahadur Annamalai Chettiar, I hope they will pay due consideration to these suggestions, consult their friends who are men of light and leading and decide to take up these two railway lines before long and have them as a national enterprise.

Universities.

18. It would indeed be a happy day when India has more Universities imparting education more liberally than before, and the creation of the Hindu University is certainly an advance step in that direction, though opinions are divided about the result of having such sectarian universities. The possibility of the creation of the Muslim University and the University of Mysore is another matter on which we congratulate ourselves. The Travancore Government, I believe, are maturing the idea of having their own University, and I sincerely trust that the enlightend ruler of that ancient State would make it an accomplished fact before long.—

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"These things shall be! a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall raise
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

"Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free.
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity".

The Collectors' Conference.

19. In the Presidency of Madras we had for the first time the Collectors' Conference at Ootacamund, but it is not known what administrative problems were discussed and solutions arrived at. It would be of incalculable benefit to our Presidency, should that Conference be made one where selected non-officials from each district,—in the beginning to be appointed by Government,—could be permitted to attend and take part in discussions on questions relating to the administration of the respective districts. I hope His Excellency Lord Pentland will give a sympathetic consideration to this suggestion and before he lays down the reins of his high office will do some such practical good to us and thus earn a reputation of having been a Governor with sympathies for the legitimate aspirations of the people over whose destinies he presided.

The Collector's Council.

There is another suggestion, rather a proposal, which I would like to place before you for such consideration as you may deem worthy to give. In recent times, the Collector of the

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district, at any rate in the Presidency of Madras, has become more or less an officer with defined puties and obligations and his work has been more or less become routine and machine-like. I think he ought to be like the Principal of a College with more of supervision work and much of thinking rather than be one of the more clerical portion of the district administration. He ought to infuse enthusiasm in the minds of the people in the matter of co-operation, in their interesting themselves in industrial matters, in devising means for spreading education, in impressing the needs of sanitation, and generally in every matter calculated to improve their condition and make them more prosperous than before. I do not think it would be possible for a Collector to devote his time to such enterprises unless he is assisted by a Council composed of at least 2 people, one to be an official and another to be a non-official, to be first nominated by Government. This would give him opportunity to learn the needs of the people in a greater measure than he could otherwise have, and the help he would have from his non-official councillor must be of great value. He could also, I think, hold periodical Durbars when all the important people and ryots in the district should meet and represent their local needs and grievances to him for necessary redress. This has been, gentlemen, a custom in ancient days and we read in every ancient book that Sovereigns always summoned to their courts their

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ryots and villagers and heard their grievances in person. The revivial of that ancient system must be conducive to the better administration of the district, and I don't think its results, successful as it should be, could be adequately estimated.

Social Reform.

20. Social Reform is a matter on which one should bestow serious consideration. One of the many reforms advocated under that denomination is Female Education, a matter of paramount importance to the Indians as already acknowledged by all the leaders throughout the country. We may clearly see that much has not been done in this direction, and I should think the Local Boards should take up this as one of their chief concerns and work it up, of course, making, wherever it is possible, the big land-holders and wealthy merchants to co-operate with them and help such institutions. Unless people cultivate social habits and realise the necessities for such reforms, India could never hope to rise in the scale of nations, and I do not think anything like a self-governing colony could be had unless social qualities among us are developed and the cifferences of caste are completely sunk. I cannot better express the necessity of befitting ourselves to the greatness of future India than in the words of Sir Rabindranath Tagore who says:—

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where the knowledge is free;

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Where the world has not been broken up into fragments into narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand and of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action,
Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake!"—

Home Rule.

21. One of the much agitated questions of the present day seems to be that of Home Rule for India. Gentlemen, it is a very big question and requires every anxious consideration. No one could deny that one of these days India would become a self-governed colony and would have the privileges conceded in the Home Rule. But whether the country is fully ripe now to receive a Government of its own is a very complicated problem. I, for my part, ambitious as I am of having our own Government, should be disposed to think that we should undergo several reforms and pass through several stages before we befit ourselves to receive Home Rule or Self Government. I do not think the present state of affairs in India would provide us with a sufficient number of suitable men to hold high and responsible offices all at once, nor would the people submit easily to any kind of peaceful administration when they are divided by numerous castes and creeds. I am sure